

Message Text

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NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 AEC-05 H-01 INR-07

L-02 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01

SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01 CU-02

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 419

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, PARM, EGEN, SGEN, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: STATE II HIGHLIGHTS - JANUARY 20-24

1. SUMMARY. CSCE RECONVENED JANUARY 20 FOLLOWING A FIVE-WEEK RECESS. SOVIETS TOOK PAINS TO INDICATE THAT THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CONFERENCE HAS NOT CHANGED, AND THAT
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THEY ARE STILL INTERESTED IN THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE CONCLUSION

TO STAGE II, AND CONVENING OF A STAFF III SUMMIT. SOVIETS NEVERTHELESS OFFERED NO NEW FLEXIBILITY, AND INSISTED THAT PROGRESS COULD ONLY BE ACHIEVED THROUGH ELIMINATION OR MODERATION OF MORE AMBITIOUS WESTERN AND NEUTRAL PROPOSALS. ALTHOUGH THERE WERE FEW CONCRETE ACHIEVEMENTS, THIS FIRST WEEK OF THE NEW SESSION GOT OFF TO A QUICK START, WITH EAST, WEST AND NEUTRALS MOVING IMMEDIATELY TO ORGANIZE INFORMAL MEETINGS ON A WIDE RANGE OF SUBJECTS. SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRINCIPLES AGREED INFORMALLY ON FIRST TWO SENTENCES OF NINTH PRINCIPLE (COOPERATION AMONG STATES) AND IN BASKET III INTENSIVE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS CONTINUED ON INTRODUCTORY TEXT FOR HUMAN CONTACTS SECTION, WHICH WAS CLOSE TO AGREEMENT JUST BEFORE THE RECESS, ALTHOUGH SOME VERY CONTENTIOUS POINTS REMAIN UNRESOLVED. IN MILITARY SUBCOMMITTEE UK SPECIFIED WESTERN POSITION THAT CBM ON MANEUVERS SHOULD BE APPLIED WITHIN 700 KILOMETERS OF THE USSR'S WESTERN BORDERS. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE REACHED HIGHLY TENTATIVE AGREEMENT ON FIRST TWO SENTENCES OF NINTH PRINCIPLE (COOPERATION AMONG STATES). SENTENCES DEFINE AREAS OF COOPERATION. SUBCOMMITTEE WILL RETURN TO EIGHTH PRINCIPLE (SELF-DETERMINATION) NEXT WEEK, SUBSTANTIVE DRAFTING OF THIS PRINCIPLE WAS COMPLETED PRIOR TO CHRISTMAS RECESS, BUT AGREEMENT WAS HELD UP BY ROMANIANS' REFUSAL TO REGISTER IT UNTIL SOVIETS AGREE TO REGISTER KEY THIRD PARAGRAPH OF ROMANIAN PROPOSAL IN SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION. WITH SOVIET-ROMANIAN BILATERALS ON PARAGRAPH THREE STILL IN PROGRESS, EARLY REGISTRATION OF SELF-DETERMINATION REMAINS IN DOUBT.

3. MILITARY SECURITY -- SUBCOMMITTEE'S FIRST TWO MEETINGS FOLLOWING RECESS WERE DEVOTED TO UNPRODUCTIVE GENERAL DEBATE SPARKED BY OPENING STATEMENT BY SOVIET REP, AMBASSADOR MENDELEVICH, WHO ATTACKED WESTERN PROPOSAL IN FAMILIAR TERMS AND SAID THEY WERE OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS WHICH SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN. AT JAN 24 MEETING SUBCOMMITTEE RESUMED ITS DISCUSSION OF PARAMETERS FOR CBM ON MANEUVERS, BEGINNING WITH QUESTION OF AREA. UK REP PROPOSED THAT THIS

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CBM BE APPLICABLE TO STRIP OF SOVIET TERRITORY 700 KILOMETERS WIDE. THIS WAS FIRST TIME THAT THE FIGURE WHICH ALLIES HAD IN MIND FOR THIS PROVISION WAS SPECIFIED. IT WAS IMMEDIATELY ATTACKED BY THE SOVIETS AS A STEP WHICH ONLY ENLARGED EXISTING DIFFERENCES. MEANWHILE, IN SEVERAL CAUCUSES DURING WEEK ALLIES DUSCUSSED TACTICS FOR MOVING TOWARDS A COMPROMISE ON THE ISSUE OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS. UK FAVORED INDICATING TO SOVIETS AND NEUTRALS WITHOUT

FURTHER DELAY THAT ALLIES WERE PREPARED TO SCALE DOWN THEIR ORIGINAL PROPOSAL ON MOVEMENTS BUT DUTCH FAVORED POSTPONEMENT, AND FURTHER DISCUSSION OF TACTICS WAS DEFERRED TO NEXT CAUSUC.

4. COOPERATION IN ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- FULL COMMITTEE ADJOURNED WHEN IT BECAME APPARENT THAT DEADLOCK CAUSED BY ROMANIAN INSISTENCE ON REFERENCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN EUROPE REMAINED UNBROKEN. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES REGISTERED TWO TEXTS: A WESTERN TEXT ENCOURAGING EXPANSION OF TRADE ON AS BROAD A MULTILATERAL BASIS AS POSSIBLE AND A POLISH TEXT RECOGNIZING IMPORTANCE OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL INTERGOVERNMENTAL AND OTHER AGREEMENTS FOR LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE. SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION TRIED TO REMOVE REMAINING BRACKETS, BUT ENCOUNTERED CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTY ON REFERENCE TO "SUPPLY OF COMPLETE PLANTS OR PRODUCTION LINES WITH PAYMENTS IN RESULTANT PRODUCTS". SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE HELD FRUITLESS SESSION WITH SOVIETS ARGUING FOR MODIFICATION OF PREVIOUSLY AGREED WORDING. SUBCOMMITTEE ON OTHER ECONOMIC AREAS AGREED ON ORDER OF PARAGRAPHS IN TOURISM TEXT.

5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE

RETURNED TO FORMAL, INFORMAL, AND BILATERAL WORK ON THE INTRODUCTORY TEXT WHICH HAD OCCUPIED MOST OF THE FORTNIGHT PRIOR TO THE CHRISTMAS BREAK. THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT YET SHOWN ANY WILLINGNESS TO PERMIT CONSIDERATION OF CHANGES IN THE TEXT AND ARE EVEN RESISTING ALIGNMENT OF THE TWO ORIGINAL LANGUAGE VERSIONS--RUSSIAN AND FRENCH. IN INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE DRAFTING BEGAN ON AUDIO-VISUAL INFORMATION AND WILL MOVE ON TO INCLUDE WORKING CONDITIONS

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FOR JOURNALISTS EARLY NEXT WEEK. THE SOVIETS HAVE EXPENDED ENERGY AND EXUDED OPTIMISM BUT HAVE THUS FAR SHOWN NO FLEXIBILITY IN DEALING WITH THE ISSUES UNDER CONSIDERATION IN THESE TWO SUBCOMMITTEES. IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE, SOVIETS PRESSED FOR MAXIMUM NUMBER OF INFORMAL MEETINGS IN ORDER TO FACILITATE PROGRESS, BUT AT SAME TIME MAINTAINED RIGID OPPOSITION TO KEY WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF FOREIGN LIBRARIES/READING ROOMS. SOVIETS PROPOSED THAT SUBCOMMITTEE DEFER FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE AND CONCENTRATE ON OTHER PROPOSALS REMAINING BEFORE IT. EC-NINE IS CURRENTLY CONSIDERING ITS NEGOTIATING POSITION IN LIGHT OF TOUGH SOVIET LINE ON LIBRARIES/READING ROOMS. SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION CONCENTRATED ON INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE, WITH SOVIETS PRESSING FOR SPEEDY PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION OF SOVIET-FRENCH COMPROMISE TEXT

DEVELOPED JUST PRIOR CHRISTMAS RECESS. HOWEVER, SOME
RESERVATIONS ABOUT TEXT ON PART OF CERTAIN NEUTRALS AND
HARD-LINING DUTCH DELEGATION MAY DELAY FINAL AGREEMENT ON IT.

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USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

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USLO SAACLANT NORFOLK VA

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6. MEDITERRANEAN -- DRAFTING OF MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION
WAS STUCK OVER LANGUAGE TO DESCRIBE APPLICABILITY OF THE
PRINCIPLES TO THE WHOLE MEDITERRANEAN AREA. MALTESE DEL
TABLED A PAPER DESCRIBING THEIR PROPOSAL IN FRAMEWORK OF

UNEP FOR A MEDITERRANEAN REGIONAL ANTI-POLLUTION CENTER
TO BE LOCATED IN MALTA. NATO CAUCUS AGREED TO CONSULT
NEXT WEEK ON TACTICS FOR DEALING WITH MEDITERRANEAN
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ISSUES IN CSCE.

7. FOLLOW-UP -- WORKING GROUP CAME CLOSER TO AGREEMENT
ON TWO MORE PARAGRAPHS FOR PREAMBLE TO RESOLUTION ON
CONFERENCE FOLLOW-UP, AND PROSPECTS FOR EARLY REGISTRA-
TION WERE GOOD. NATO CAUCUS WILL CONSULT NEXT WEEK ON
OVERALL ALLIED POSITION ON FOLLOW-UP.

8. COMMENT: AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF DOUBT OVER BREZHNEV'S
POSITION AND CANCELLATION OF THE US-SOVIET TRADE AGREEMENT,
THE CONFERENCE RECONVENED IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF UNCERTAINTY,
AND THE PRINCIPAL QUESTION IN THE MINDS OF WESTERN AND
NEUTRAL NEGOTIATORS AS MEETINGS BEGAN AGAIN WAS WHETHER
OR NOT THE SOVIETS WOULD PRESS AHEAD AS ENERGETICALLY AS

BEFORE TOWARD AN EARLY CONCLUSION TO STAGE II AND CONVENING
OF A STAGE III SUMMIT. EVIDENTLY SENSING THIS GENERAL
FEELING OF APPREHENSION, THE SOVIET DELEGATION WENT OUT
OF THEIR WAY IN INFORMAL CONTACTS TO REASSURE WESTERN,
AND ESPECIALLY US, DELEGATES, THAT THE SOVIET ATTITUDE
TOWARD CSCE HAD NOT CHANGED. THEY TOOK THE LINE THAT THE
TRADE AGREEMENT WAS A SPECIFIC CASE, AND DID NOT EFFECT
THE OVERALL SOVIET COMMITMENT TO DETENTE, ESPECIALLY A
SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION TO THIS CONFERENCE. THEY URGED
IMMEDIATE RESUMPTION OF MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS, BUT
OFFERED NO NEW FLEXIBILITY TO FACILITATE AGREEMENTS ON
DIFFICULT ISSUES. IN FACT, THEIR CALLS FOR ACCELERATED
PROGRESS WERE COMBINED WITH ADAMANT REFUSALS TO BUDGE
FROM THEIR EARLIER POSITIONS, AND THEY BLANDLY ADVISED
WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS TO ABANDON OR MODERATE
THEIR MORE AMBITIOUS PROPOSALS.

9. MEANWHILE, WESTERN CONSULTATIONS BEGAN TO
ANTICIPATE CONFERENCE MOVEMENT, AND, WITH SOME WESTERN
DELEGATIONS NOW CLEARLY ALSO INTERESTED IN AN EARLY CON-
CLUSION, NATO AND EC-NINE CAUCUSES GINGERLY OPENED
DISCUSSIONS ON SOME POLITICAL ISSUES, SUCH AS FOLLOW-UP,
THE MEDITERRANEAN, AND HOW TO FALL BACK FROM THE PROPOSED
CBM ON MILITARY MOVEMENTS, WHICH HAVE THUS FAR BEEN TABOO.
TOWARD WEEK'S END, WITH MOST DELEGATES CONVINCED THAT THE
SOVIETS ARE STILL PUSHING FORWARD, CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS
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TURNED AGAIN TO THE NUMBER ONE QUESTION: THE TIMING OF THE CONCLUSION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS (I.E., ON SUBSTANTIVE AGENDA ISSUES). CONFERENCE OPTIMISTS THOUGHT THIS MIGHT BE POSSIBLE IN MARCH OR APRIL, WHILE PESSIMISTS THOUGHT MAY OR JUNE WAS MORE LIKELY. LITTLE THOUGHT, HOWEVER, HAS YET BEEN GIVEN TO FURTHER WORK THAT WILL BE NEEDED TO PREPARE FOR STAGE III: SHAPE OF FINAL DOCUMENT, ALIGNMENT OF SIX OFFICIAL LANGUAGE VERSIONS, DETAILED STAGE III PROCEDURES, DRAFTING OF STAGE III COMMUNIQUE AND SO ON. WE ESTIMATE THIS COULD CONSUME A FURTHER MONTH OR SO AFTER SUBSTANTIVE DRAFTING HAS BEEN CONCLUDED. END COMMENT. ABRAMS

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLLECTIVE SECURITY, ECONOMIC COOPERATION, HUMAN RIGHTS, MEETINGS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION, RESOLUTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 25 JAN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975GENEVA00419
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750028-1107
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750120/aaaaarus.tel
Line Count: 290
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <28 APR 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <29 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

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Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: STATE II HIGHLIGHTS - JANUARY 20-24
TAGS: PFOR, PARM, EGEN, SGEN, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006